DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 346 086 SP 033 852

AUTHOR Freidus, Helen
TITLE Men in a Women's World: A Study of Male Second Career Teachers in Elementary Schools.
PUB DATE Apr 92
NOTE 31p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (San Francisco, CA, April 20-24, 1992).
PUB TYPE Speeches/Conference Papers (150) -- Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Adult Development; Beginning Teachers; *Career Change; Case Studies; Cooperating Teachers; Elementary Education; *Elementary School Teachers; *Males; *Sex Differences; Sex Role; *Teacher Attitudes
IDENTIFIERS *Teacher Stress

ABSTRACT

Although mature males who make mid-career changes into elementary school teaching share some experiences with their female counterparts, there appear to be variations in their experiences which are specific to males. Data from a cross case analysis that focuses on the career transitions of 10 second career men who became elementary school teachers indicate that both men and women experienced stress related to their financial needs, the social image related to a career in teaching, and their relationships with their cooperating teachers. However, several issues appear to be specific to the male career changer, issues related to: the nature of gender socialization in our society, the schema of teachers and teaching held by male career changers at the time of their entry into the field, and life stage concerns that motivate men to make a career change into teaching. These issues have implications for the recruitment and education of male second career teachers at the elementary level. The bibliography includes 54 references. (IAH)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED346086

Men in a Women's World: A Study of Male Second Career Teachers in Elementary Schools

Helen Freidus
Bank Street College of Education
New York City, New York 10025

A paper presented at the 1992 Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco, CA, April 20-24

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Helen Freidus

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☐ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

SP033852

2 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Men in a Women's World: A Study of Male Second Career Teachers in Elementary Schools

Helen Freidus
Bank Street College of Education

Introduction

For twelve years, Jack, age 41, had owned and operated a successful retail business in an affluent suburb of New York City. Before that he had been, in succession, a Vista volunteer working with migrant workers in the New York metropolitan area, a buyer for a large corporation, a mailman and a construction worker. With the sale of his retail business, financial security was no longer a major concern. His goal was now "to pick something that would be challenging, challenging in a way that my mind has never been challenged. ...To pick something that would push me, something that would be hard to do, something that would not come easy to me." Jack chose to become a teacher.

Carl was 55-years-old, a man whose career in the world of communications was satisfying, financially rewarding, and, often, glamorous. However, when offered an "enriched early retirement program", one that would give him the benefits of a generous pension and profit-sharing income, he decided to take advantage of the opportunity.

> Hey, I'm 55-years-old. Thank Heaven, I'm healthy. I'm vigorous. I've been at this for twenty-eight and one-half years. I've had a very satisfying career that I could stay with for another ten years or so, but this is probably the only opportunity I will have in my life to turn completely around and do something totally different.

Carl looked for a career that would bring meaning both to his life and to the lives of others, one for which he might have a talent, one that would be a "great adventure." Carl decided to become a teacher.

Walter, age 40, had spent his college years studying music and social sciences and supporting the political and social messages of the sixties. Upon graduation, the exigencies of day-to-day life caused him to focus on earning a living. He entered the world of Wall Street and embarked upon a lucrative career. He married and had a family. As his children grew older, he began to participate with them in organized sports. He became coach of his daughter's soft ball team, building spirit and guiding the team through their most successful season. As he reflected upon the kind of success he felt in this arena and contrasted it with his career success, he felt something was missing in the world of his work. He thought back to his early ideas and ideals and decided the time had come to make a change. He assessed his own strengths and interests, read about the crisis in the classroom, reflected upon his fundamental belief in the importance of education and decided - with both excitement and trepidation - to change careers. Walter wanted to become a teacher.

The words these men use to describe their transition into the world of teaching are echoed in the stories of many other men who have chosen to leave established careers to become elementary school teachers. The body of research on second career teachers is just beginning to emerge (Freidus,1989, 90; Freidus & Krasnow,1991; Bennett & Spalding,1991; Merseth, 1991; Bullough & Knowles,1990). To date, little attention has been paid to the gender specific experiences of second career teachers; even less attention has been paid to the experiences of mature men who choose to become teachers in elementary schools. It is the belief of this researcher that a greater understanding of these experiences may have implications for the recruitment, education, and retention of male second career teachers. This paper provides a cross case analysis of the career transitions of ten male second career teachers. It draws upon the stories of the three men described

above to highlight issues of special concern to men who choose to leave other careers to teach in elementary schools.

Literature Base of the Study

Second Career Teachers

As more and more people are making career changes into teaching, there has been a growing body of literature addressing such questions as what motivates career changes into teaching (Bullough & Knowles,1990; Crow, Levine, & Nager,1988; Freidus,1989), what are the perspectives of teachers and teaching held by second career teachers (Freidus & Krasnow,1991; Bennett & Spalding,1991), and how do second career teachers fare in the field (Merseth,1991). Through these studies, we are beginning to gain a better understanding of those who comprise the pool of second career teachers and what motivates their decisions. The literature documents that the vast majority of second career teachers entering graduate programs in education come to teaching with a sense of commitment. They become teachers by choice not by default. They have tried and succeeded at careers in other fields. Even those whose career choice is a forced one, those whose jobs have been eliminated through corporate mergers or financial cutbacks, appear to have taken advantage of the breach in the career path they had been taking to reassess their priorities and their goals. Second career teachers have made conscious decisions that teaching is the career they want.

The literature indicates that second career teachers come with an articulated sense of mission. They choose to trade in actual or potential success measured by financial gain and status for the rewards of personal satisfaction through service. Some feel the time has come to provide others with the kinds of the opportunities that they, themselves, have been given. Their career decision is motivated by the desire "to pay back." Others come with a transformative vision of teaching. Having overcome their own negative

school experiences, they "want to make things different for others." Whether motivated by positive or negative personal experiences in school, the vast majority of second career teachers hope "to make a difference."

Career is an important term for those who come to teaching from other fields. Second career teachers view their new endeavor as a professional one. They expect that the career attitudes and skills they have developed in their former fields will be relevant to their work in the classroom. It is not easy hours and long vacations that appeal to them, but, rather, the challenge of doing the kind of work they consider to be worthwhile. For those second career teachers described in the literature, teaching is much more than a job; it is an important component of their life, a way of making meaning in and of the world.

Finally, the literature suggests that many second career teachers are motivated by the desire to lead a life in which the values of home and the values of the workplace are compatible, a life in which they can practice the values they espouse. Many began their business careers unaware that they were making choices that would be unfulfilling. Others, knowing that they were turning from the social idealism of their college years, felt they had no alternatives. It appeared at the time as if their need to make a living, to provide for themselves and their family could only be met in the world of business. Years later, they become dissatisfied with the duality of their lives. Second career teachers feel that the time has come when they must respond to both personal and social needs. They seek individual fulfillment and an opportunity to participate in work that serves others.

Teacher Biography

There is a growing body of literature that documents the validity of using the personal history of the teacher as one tool for understanding his or her classroom experiences (Britzman,1986; Bullough, 1989,90; Knowles &

Holt-Reynolds, in press). We know from the findings of cognitive psychology that individuals make sense of things according to their personal schemas, the ways in which they see and interpret the world. These schema grow out of the individual's public and private experience; new experiences assume meaning within the context of prior knowledge (Bruner,1981). We also know that when new experiences lead to significant change in the ways in which an individual perceives himself and/ or his world, feelings of loss, anxiety, and struggle frequently result (Marris in Fullan,1991). Such feelings are appropriate and inevitable. Only through acknowledgement and support are growth and support facilitated.

These concepts are extremely significant for second career teachers. These men and women enter the classroom with attitudes and expectations shaped by their previous career experiences. They think they understand the path on which they are embarking. They have spent many years in the classroom as students. Most have carefully researched their career decisions by reading relevant literature, talking to teachers, and/or visiting schools. However, despite all their reflection and all their research, they remain outsiders to the world of teaching. They cannot know exactly what it means to teach - what behaviors are required, what skills are needed, what feelings are elicited - until they actually take a position in the classroom, until they, themselves, become teachers. Witherell and Noddings (1991) speak to this reality when they describe the nature of the relationship between student and teacher. "The teacher can experience the student's learning..., but the student cannot fully take the teacher's perspective (p. 6)."

When students become teachers, they must almost invariably change their schema, their schema of teaching and their schema of what it means to be a teacher. Frequently, this requires that they modify their attitudes and expectations - their attitudes and expectations about themselves, their students, and about the educational process itself. The process of making

these changes is an uncomfortable one, one that often requires much soul-searching and much support. These needs can be particularly acute for men who are making career transitions into a field in which the dominant population is composed of women and children.

Gender Socialization: The Traditional Role of the Male

If we are to understand the unique quality of the experience of men who choose to become second career teachers in elementary schools, it is important to understand what expectations of self are held by and for these men. It is also important to remember that elementary school teaching is traditionally viewed as "women's work" (Apple,1986; Kaestle,1983) and to consider the attitudes and expectations that have led to this view. It is important to consider how the culture of the school world interacts with the attitudes and expectations of male career changers.

Gender has been defined by some as qualities that are biologically determined (Brenner, 1974). By others, gender has been defined as a sociological construct based on ideologically determined roles (Tabakin & Densmore, 1986; Goodman,1987). In our society, gender traits tend to be polarized. Femininity is associated with other-directedness, dependence, and compliance. Masculinity is associated with independence, goal-directedness, self-assertion, logical (non-emotional) thinking, and power and control. Male heros, even after the influence of two decades of feminist thought, are most frequently portrayed as "tough", self-contained, and emotionally invulnerable (Goodman,1987).

Whether gender traits are biologically determined or socially constructed, they appear to be a reality in our society (Pruett,1987; Weiler,1988; Bly,1990). They are continuously shaped and reinforced in the home, the school, and the workplace (Sadker, Sadker, and Klein,1991; Betz & Fitzgerald, 1987; Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988). As such, they are likely to

impact on the career experience of the male second career teacher in the elementary school on a daily basis. They may affect his expectations for and his attitudes toward teachers and teaching as well as the behaviors he demonstrates in his daily classroom practice. In addition, stereotypical gender expectations shape the perceptions of parents, administrators, and fellow teachers as they observe men who choose teaching as a second career. They affect the ways in which the motivations and the performance of these men are interpreted by others. In these ways, the expectations that are the outcomes of gender socialization may have direct bearing on the career change process.

Adult Development

Still another body of literature that helps us to understand the experience of the second career teacher can be found in the field of adult development. These studies raise important issues that may illuminate the decisions of all second career teachers. However, since most of the studies in this field were conducted on male populations, their application to men who choose teaching as a second career may be more direct.

Historically, adulthood was viewed from the vantage point of biology; one grew up when one attained puberty. For Freud, the stages of ego development were completed at this point. It was Jung (1971 edition) who, within the paradigm of psychosocial development, first envisioned man as changing and growing throughout the course of his life. He saw life as a journey along which one moved, starting with a primary focus on concern for self and growing toward a focus on concern for others. As an individual's focus changed, the nature of his or her actions would also change.

Erikson (1963) drew upon the work of both Freud and Jung to construct a more delineated vision of the stages of adult development. He described how social and historical factors contribute to and impact upon the course of

individual development. Each stage of development in Erikson's theory has specific conflicts and concerns of its own. Maturity and the successful resolution of these conflicts enables individuals to move from stage to stage. It is the stage of *Generativity vs. Stagnation* that may be seen as directly related to the career life of the individuals in this study. During this stage, the years of Middle Adulthood, individuals are concerned with procreativity, the desire to establish and guide the next generation - one's own children and/or those of the community.

Studies in adult development have lent credence to the view that identity is not fixed once and for all at any point in a lifetime. Rather, identity grows and changes through the experiences in which a person engages and through his or her perceptions of these experiences. Daniel Levinson (1978, 84, 86) takes this thesis and explores it from the vantage point of career development. From Levinson's perspective, the concerns of the life cycle and career concerns of the individual are directly interrelated. As one moves through different stages with different foci, career satisfaction may peak and ebb. Traditionally, mid-life career change has been perceived as a difficulty in "finding oneself." Levinson, however, views such change much more positively. To him, it shows growth and maturity, an increasing awareness of self, and the ability of the individual to mesh his or her own needs with those of society.

Within the context of adult development literature, it is possible to see career change as part of the growth and development of the individual. What constitutes meaningful work at one point in life may seem hollow at another time.

> A career is, first and foremost, an individual accomplishment. And regardless of its shape, must be considered through the eyes of the beholder. Careers that appear to be enriching, may be viewed by the people in them as devoid of challenge, frustrating

and all too constraining. (Beckhard in Van Maanen, 1977, p.174)

Men who enter teaching as a second career may be going through just such a process. Their careers and their perceptions of these careers may be intertwined with the issues and concerns with which they are dealing in their personal lives. If this is so, the research of adult development may provide insights into the motivations and behaviors of those men who choose to become teachers in elementary schools after achieving success in other fields.

Methodology

This study provides a cross case analysis of the career transitions of ten white, middle class men who have chosen to leave successful careers in other fields to become elementary school teachers. The stories of three of these men will be used to highlight issues that recur throughout the case studies of the larger population of male career change teachers.

The study grows out of a series of studies that have investigated the career transitions of second career teachers. Earlier research focused on the attitudes and expectations of the general population of second career teachers and on the ways in which the attitudes and expectations of women who chose teaching as a second career might be related to gender socialization. The research began in 1987 with an exploratory study consisting of mini-case studies of two second career teachers, one male and one female. Since gender-linked behavior becomes more noticeable when contrasted to the gender other, it was felt that greater insights might be gained by the contrast between male and female subjects.

The findings of the exploratory study revealed the need for a broader knowledge base of the general population of second career teachers. The number of men and women making career changes into teaching was just becoming significant at this time, and the literature on the subject was

practically nil. To develop the needed knowledge base, a pilot study was initiated. In Spring, 1988, interviews were held with twenty-five career-changers currently enrolled in graduate programs of education. The goal of these interviews was to explore their past career history and to identify the attitudes and expectations underlying their motivations to embark upon a career in teaching. The exploratory study indicated the presence of common themes in the attitudes and expectations of most career change teachers. These themes are briefly discussed on pages 3 and 4 of this study and in greater depth in earlier writings (Freidus,1989,90; Freidus & Krasnow,91). Studies by other researchers exploring the field has given support to these findings.

The data of the exploratory study indicated that gender socialization appeared to be a factor shaping the decisions of women who chose to make career changes into teaching. At this point, in 1988-89, four case studies were conducted to explore this issue - two women and two men were chosen. The research provided added strength to the hypothesis that gender socialization contributed to the career decisions of women career changers.

Subsequently, studies were made of three cohorts (n=30) of second career teachers entering an MAT program in 1990 and 1991 at a small liberal arts college in suburban New York City. In reflecting upon the outcomes of this research and earlier research, certain patterns began to emerge regarding the experiences of men who made mid-career changes into teaching at the elementary school level. While in many ways, they shared the experiences of the total population of second career teachers, both male and female, there seemed to be variations in their experiences that were specific to the male members of the groups. This research focuses on these variations and seeks to respond to the following questions: 1. What issues are of special concern to male second career teachers 2. What implications do these concerns have for

the recruitment and education of male second career teachers at the elementary school level?

Building upon prior case study work, a cross case analysis was made to elicit issues that recurred in and appeared to be specific to the experiences of male second career teachers. Throughout the case studies, a variety of data-generating instruments were used. Many of these grew out of the conduct of the program of teacher education (Duckworth,1986; Knowles & Holt-Reynolds, in press; Bennett & Spalding,1991). Autobiographical statements, reflection papers and journals written by participants, classroom observations, interviews with cooperating teachers, and researcher diary all provided data that informed the research as well as the practice of our teacher education program. In addition, open-ended research interviews (Mischler,1986,90) were conducted with three men whose stories appeared to represent issues of concern to the general population of male second teachers.

Data was analyzed on an ongoing basis. The variety of data sources combined with subject responses to shared interpretations provided forms of triangulation (Agar,1980) by which consistency of meaning and interpretation could be verified. Opportunities were made for sharing interpretations with subjects; comments were recorded and appropriate modifications were made. Throughout the process, the researcher turned to the literature, reflecting conjointly on the readings and the data. The patterns that emerged began to make sense both pragmatically and theoretically. The issues that are discussed in the following section are derived from these patterns.

Issues of Concern

Both the literature (Bullough & Knowles, 1990) and the data confirm that the entry into teaching is frequently highly stressful for the second career teacher. The stress is generated by a broad range of factors. Financial concerns are often among the first to appear. Although both men and women

have known from the very beginning that both their actual and potential income may be diminished in their new field, encountering the reality of their new situation often holds many surprises. Many need to juggle a variety of jobs while going to school and even while doing their student teaching. They have anticipated and planned for this need, but they have not planned for the fatigue they will feel as the months go by.

For many men, the stress and fatigue create tensions that are qualitatively different from those experienced by their female counterparts. As the anticipated financial strain becomes a reality, a related but unexpected stress emerges. Many men find that their new role as student and teacher conflicts with the role to which they have been socialized from early childhood, the role of family bread winner (Levinson, 1977). They begin to experience feelings of guilt and self-doubt about the soundness of their career decisions.

As their fatigue mounts, their savings diminish, and unanticipated expenses occur, they begin to fear that the cost they are exacting from themselves and their family is unfair. In some cases, like that of Carl, who chose early retirement before making his career change decision, income from pensions and/or independent income eliminates this anxiety, but more frequently the stress grows as the time goes by. Many men, like Walter who left Wall Street and a career that promised comfort for his family of five, become increasingly obsessed with the fear: "What if after all this time, after all the sacrifices made by my family, I don't find a job." It is not that the men's need for money is necessarily more real or more acute than that of female career changers, but that, even in today's world of newly defined gender roles and dual career families, men's perceived responsibility for being "chief provider" has the potential to create deep-seated anxiety and concomitant stress. The nature of this stress appears to differ qualitatively

- if not quantitatively - from that experienced by women career changers (Levinson,1977, 84).

A second form of stress that career changers experience during the transition into teaching is linked to career identity. In today's world, both men and women at least partially define their response to the question: "Who am I?" by reference to career perceptions. Initially, it appears as if women who enter elementary school are the ones who lose career status, while men making the same transition are looked on with awe. Many a female career changer has described how her image at cocktail parties plummeted when she identified herself as a teacher rather than a lawyer, banker, or retailer. When introductions are made, "How quaint." frequently replaces "Tell me more about yourself." In comparison, male career changers often find themselves to be subjects of great interest on the social scene. Their decision to become teachers is looked upon with with wonder. They are admired for caring, for giving of themselves, for sacrificing material comfort for social good.

However, the voices of admiration are not the only ones that male career changers hear. Someone, somewhere, always responds: "Oh my god, why do you want to be a teacher? You're not going to make any money." For Carl, the words came as part of an internal conversation that he held with his long deceased father. They echoed in his mind throughout his career transition. While Carl came from a family that valued education, the role of teaching - especially elementary school teaching - "belonged to women and to those men who could do nothing else." Personal issues that he thought had been long-since resolved resurfaced when he decided to become a teacher. For Jack and Walter, the voices of gloom were more this-worldly. Most of their friends responded enthusiastically to their decisions. "Go for it. You will be good at it." they said. Others, however, could not understand how men with growing families could choose such a route. They could not understand how Jack and Walter could turn their back on the careers they had built, the places they held

in the work community in order to "become school teachers, " positions that offered limited potential for financial gain and limited potential for social status . Both Jack and Walter discarded the arguments of these friends, but the ease and frequency with which they and others recounted these stories gives reason to conjecture that the voices of doubt were not totally discounted.

If the decisions of male career changers evoke dichotomous responses from friends and colleagues, these decisions evoke even more extreme responses from teachers and administrators. Many greet the arrival of the career change male with wariness. "What is wrong with these guys? Why do they want to do this?" they ask. Others are overwhelmingly impressed by their new colleagues. "He is so wonderful, so organized, so willing to share opinions." Both responses recorded during interviews with principals and cooperating teachers stand in contrast to the reactions to female career changers. Somehow, no matter what their previous careers might have been, a woman's decision to become a second career teacher seems to make more sense to teachers and administrators than do the decisions of male career changers. Women may or may not be made to feel welcome in their school placements, but they are rarely perceived with either suspicion or awe. These responses, both positive and the negative, pose particular problems for the male novice. Suspicion feeds the career changer's feelings of anxiety and doubt as to whether the career change has been a wise one. Awe creates a form of expectations that impedes open dialogue and true learning. Both responses contribute to the stress of the career change process.

There is yet another kind of stress that appears to be unique to the experience of male career changers. This stress emerges from the perceptions of teaching that motivate men to become second career teachers in elementary schools. Throughout the various formats of the data collection process - interviews, autobiographical statements, reflection papers - women

refer to the career change to teaching as "coming home." They may begin deliberating the process with doubt, but once they have made their decisions, they appear comfortable and confident that the choice is the right one. Sally's feelings are echoed over and over again in the data.

> When I worked in the business world, I always felt I was good and competent at what I did. ...But here (in teaching), after I get some experience behind me, I'm going to excel. ...I had so much more to give than I was giving in business. I only got to use a certain percentage of my skills. There was never an opportunity for nurturing, gentleness, a sense of humor. ...The best of me is yet to give. (Freidus,1989)

References of this sort cannot be found anywhere in the data collected from male participants in this study. Men, in contrast, repeatedly describe their motivation to become teachers in terms of challenge. They frame challenge in terms of a quest to conquer the unfamiliar. This meaning differs from the challenging career to which the women refer. Carl looked for "adventure;" Jack sought "something that would not come easy to me;" Walter repeatedly spoke of the enormity of a teacher's responsibility and of his desire to meet the challenge. All three men were inspired by their perception of teaching as challenging, but they were also a bit overwhelmed by these perceptions. A thread of ambivalence emerged repeatedly from conferences with and reflective writings by the men in the study during their time as students and student teachers. Walter appears to voice the thoughts of many of his male colleagues when he asks "Will I be able to do the job? How will I know? "

These concerns may be related to the more idealized vision of children held by male career changers. They tended to enter teaching having had fewer personal experiences with young children. They anticipated that teaching young children would be a challenge, and a

challenge they found it to be. Their patterns of achievement did not differ markedly from that of their female counterparts, but, in general, their perceptions of these achievements appeared to be riddled with doubt for a longer period of time. This doubt often was masked by a facade of confidence, a facade that they brought with them from their past experience, a facade that actually blocked their access to the information and support they most needed.

> I feel scared every day of this (teacher education) program. I'm very good at projecting an image, but it is extremely difficult for me to work with people and be a really good listener and not have control all the time. (Jack)

We know from the literature that the stage of neo-novicedom, the stage when one begins to learn what it really means to be a teacher, is difficult for all career changers. Feelings of helplessness and frustration universally accompany the feeling of being less than competent. However, for those who are moving from other careers, careers where these feelings had long been allayed, the experience appears to be more intense. A sense of "I ought to be able to do this." magnifies the normal amount of anxiety and stress. Master teachers make the art of teaching look effortless; their knowledge and understanding mask the complexity of the classroom. Although the men who come to elementary school teaching as a second career do so for a challenge, they do not understand the true nature of the challenge until they, themselves, try to orchestrate the classroom.

> I knew it would be hard, but I didn't know just how hard it would be until I actually did it. (Walter)

The vision of teaching with which these men entered the classroom contributed to their confusion. Despite their transformative vision of teaching, they came with an implicit set of assumptions about the nature of teacher - student dynamics, assumptions that evolved from their own

experiences in hierarchically structured, teacher directed schools. They believed that if teachers were organized, knowledgeable, committed and caring, schools would be effective. They had seen how these qualities had enabled them and had enabled others to be successful in the business world, and they believed that these were the fundamental qualities missing in most schools. They had doubts about their ability to be good teachers, but they believed that they knew what good teaching was. Although they espoused a dialogical model of teaching, they believed implicitly that they would be able to tell students what to do and that students would immediately comply. Consequently, they were totally unprepared for the responses elicited by their early attempts at teaching.

> It took a lot of agony to change my attitudes, and to realize that I was not looked upon as a masterly dispenser of knowledge, but merely as another dopey teacher who was trying to cram knowledge into heads that didn't want any part of what I was selling! It was also somewhat daunting to see youngsters a couple of years out of college who were apparently much more successful than I at getting kids on their side. (Carl)

Long socialized, personally and professionally to positions of authority and control, these men felt exceedingly vulnerable when they tried to discard the mantle of authority. They had few, if any, models in their experience for the role to which they were aspiring. As a result the task of building a schema for operationalizing their transformative visions of teaching was often daunting.

Ideally, the cooperating teacher would be the one most able to support and guide these second career teacher in their efforts to realize their visions. The cooperating teacher is traditionally perceived as the mentor to the student teacher, the one who welcomes him or her to the classroom, guides his or her practice, points out the nature and needs of the children,

the planning and implementation of the curriculum, and the rules and mores of the school. However, for nine of the ten men in this study, relationships with their cooperating teachers were problematic. Many cooperating teachers did not seem quite certain how to respond to these men. They did not know whether to regard them as experts from the outside world, peers, or neophytes. Some were impressed by the places the career changers had been, the experiences they had had, the responsibilities they had shouldered in their last career. They assumed that learning to teach would be easy for them. Carl, reflecting on his initial experience in the classroom, discussed his interpretation of how he and others like him are often perceived.

> Cooperating teachers and colleagues see a person, an older person who has had a successful career in business or the professional world and, maybe, they assume too much. I think people may be fooled by my professional background and the fact that I have a certain glibness and an ability to communicate, and they think...that's all you need.

When, like the novices they were, these men stumbled in their classroom practice, their cooperating teachers did not know how to respond. Underestimating their own knowledge and skills, cooperating teachers could not understand why these men who had earned financial and social success in their previous careers could not figure out what it takes to orchestrate a classroom. These cooperating teachers appeared to be uncomfortable critiquing the work of the career changers who were their student teachers. Consequently, the men were rarely given basic information that they sorely needed. Cooperating teachers feared that they might sound condescending if they discussed their practice in the ways they would discuss it with a twenty - year old. Hence, they rarely articulated their own practice, but, rather, expected the men to understand by observing. The limited experience these men had had in classrooms and with children made this impossible. Then,

disappointed by the disparity between their expectations and the reality of the career changers' performance, cooperating teachers felt betrayed; the career change men felt frustrated.

While cooperating teachers had difficulty taking the initiative to share the nitty-gritty of teaching with their male career changers, the men had an equal amount of of difficulty asking for the information they needed. At first this could be attributed to their not knowing what questions to ask, but as time went by this interpretation appeared to be inadequate. It seemed, rather, that the men found it difficult to acknowledge that they did not know what to do. Many women, both traditional entry and second career student teachers, also had difficulty asking for help. However, referring to this problem, the women in this study spoke of their fear of imposing on their cooperating teachers' time and their feelings that they really should know what to do. They blamed themselves for their limited knowledge. The silence of the men appears to be somewhat different. It appears as if the male career changers felt that they must not compromise the image of competence posited upon them by their cooperating teachers. They did not blame themselves; they blamed the system. "Gordon (the cooperating teacher) follows the rules. It works for him, but I want something different. Why make waves by discussing it with him?" (Jack)

A second scenario - equally problematic - was encountered by three of the men in this study. Their cooperating teachers articulated pleasure at having the opportunity to mentor the career changers. However, there is reason to believe that the feelings they voiced were not always genuine. They seemed threatened or, perhaps, angered by the beliefs and behaviors of the male career changers. They appeared to interpret their students' commitment, their energy, and their transformative vision of teaching as an indictment of their own practice. They felt that these men did not understand the complexity of the system, the pressures that teachers feel, the intensity

of the demands made by students, parents, and administrators. They felt that "once again, men who had little knowledge of what was really going on, were coming in and telling us what to do." These cooperating teachers frequently left their student teachers feeling "not that she wants me to fail but that she derives some satisfaction from those situations where I would not do as well as I should and then she could come in and pour oil on the troubled waters." (Carl)

Ironically, in many ways, the outcomes of these more hostile placements paralleled those in which cooperating teachers were awed by their career change students. In neither setting was there an opportunity for open dialogue. In neither setting were cooperating teachers able to identify and meet the needs of their student teachers. This does not mean that the placements were disasters. Most of the cooperating teachers were highly professional teachers. All provided their student teachers with experiences that enabled them to advance along the course of their new career path. However, the experiences of these men pale in contrast to that of the one male career changer whose cooperating teacher shared a transformative vision of teaching with her student teacher. Neither awed nor threatened by who he was or what he had done, she was able and willing to provide him with both the support and the specific information he needed. In so doing, she enabled him to experience what good teaching means in a personal rather than a theoretical way. Through this experience, he was able to modify his prior knowledge and move closer to an understanding of what a transformative vision of teaching really entails.

Discussion

The data indicates that the issues of concern for male career changers in elementary schools are both similar to and different from the issues of concern for women career changers. Both men and women experienced stress

related to their financial needs, the social image related to a career in teaching, and their relationships with their cooperating teachers. Both men and women experienced times when they had severe doubts whether they would succeed in their new careers. Both men and women experienced difficulty in adapting to the fragmentation of classroom life. However, upon careful examination of the stories of participants in this study, it becomes apparent that within the emergent categories of concerns common to all career changers, there are themes that consistently recur within the experiences of male career changers. These themes form subcategories of concerns, subcategories that are documented rarely -if at all- in the experiences of women career changers.

(*see figure 1*)

These subcategories appear to be related to the traditional ways in which men and women in our society view themselves and are viewed by others. Men who come into elementary classrooms are expected to succeed. In our society, elementary school teaching continues to be viewed as women's work. As such, it is not considered by most to be particularly challenging in an intellectual sense or taxing in a physical sense (Apple,1985). Hence, the logic goes, it should be easy for men who have been able to garner success working in the arduous and competitive fields of business and the professions to excel in the classroom.

In reality, the world of the classroom is a complex one, requiring constant decision making, a broad range of content knowledge, and the ability to meet the emotional, cognitive, and physical needs of twenty to thirty young children on an ongoing basis (Good and Brophy, 1991). Even though the men in our study all referred to teaching as a challenge, they had no way of knowing how much of a challenge it would be both personally and professionally. When they, as young men, made their initial entries into the career world, they saw teaching as a career for women, a career which would limit their potential to

attain the financial and social success they had been taught was so important. Although over the course of the years, they had acquired new information and new attitudes that enabled them to view teaching as a positive and desirable career choice, they were now reentering the very institutions in which their former attitudes and expectations had been shaped. To their surprise, they found that despite all the surface changes in school structure and school curriculum, very little had changed regarding the hierarchy of power and the roles of men and women within this hierarchy (Apple,1985; Sadker, Sadker, and Klein,1991).

They found old familiar attitudes and expectations ready to draw them into old familiar patterns of behavior, ready to revitalize issues that they had thought had long since been put to rest. Consequently, when financial needs arose, they felt that they had not been logical and responsible in making their new career choice. When working effectively with twenty to thirty children proved to be more difficult then they had anticipated, they felt both out of control and emotionally vulnerable. When they needed to take direction from their cooperating teachers, they felt dependent. All of these feelings are normal responses to career transitions in general (Marris in Fullan,1991; Levinson,1978, 86). All are experienced by most second career teachers - male and female. However, all of these feelings are traits that are not compatible with the traditional vision of what a man should feel. As such, these concerns present unique challenges to male career changers, challenges that are personal as well as professional, challenges that relate to the process of gender socialization and the role schools play in this process.

The nature of the schema with which these men entered the classroom also contributed to the evolution of their concerns. Prior career experiences provided them with knowledge and skills that would ultimately enhance their performance in the classroom. However, the transfer of this knowledge and skills was not automatic; it needed to be reconceptualized within the context

of the classroom. The limited experiences that these men had had with children and with classrooms made it difficult for them to know how to apply their strengths in order to meet their goals. In seeking to realize their transformational vision of teaching, they were forced to deal with a situation which was in many ways beyond what Vygotsky refers to as the proximal zone of development (Vygotsky,1978). While cooperating teachers might have served to ease these concerns, their perceptions and misperceptions of the male career changers often posed impediments to their ability to do so.

The life stage concerns of mature male career changers also may be seen as contributing to the nature of their career concerns. As Levinson writes (1984): "The career is in the life structure, the life stucture is in the career." Those who choose to teach in elementary schools after attaining success in other careers may have made these decisions influenced by issues of generativity (Erikson,1963; Levinson,1978,84). Having proven themselves by the conventional norms of career success, they focus on the needs of the community. At this stage in their adult life, personal satisfaction requires a sense of doing something meaningful. Issues of caring take on greater importance within the context of both personal and career life. In teaching they see a career that allows personal beliefs and values to be actualized. They need help and support in realizing this vision. Teachers and administrators who entered their careers in teaching at different stages in their lives are not always sensitive to the ways in which developmental concerns can impact on career choice. They frequently misinterpret both the motivations and the needs of second career teachers. The mismatch between the perceptions and the reality of the motivations and needs of career change teachers makes it difficult for many experienced educators to serve as effective mentors to second career teachers. This mismatch is often extenuated when the career changers are men and the mentors are women.

Implications for Recruitment and Education

The issues of concern that emerge from the data of this study have implications for the recruitment and education of male second career teachers at the elementary school level.

1. Popular belief holds that men who consider careers in teaching after having established themselves in other fields are likely to focus on teaching in secondary schools. In contrast, this data indicates that there may be a substantial pool of men who are interested in teaching in elementary schools. Efforts to recruit quality teachers need to be aware of this pool and sensitive to the issues that motivate their interest.

2. In a society where status and financial standing are frequently interchangeable, the move from being a salaried professional to being a relatively insolvent student poses both logistical and psychological barriers to making a career change into teaching. This is particularly true for men who have been socialized to be primary breadwinners. If we are sincere in our efforts to recruit the best and the brightest into teaching, a program of stipends or grants needs to be developed to facilitate the career change process for desirable candidates who have proven themselves able in other careers.

3. The actual entry into the world of teaching is unsettling for male career changers in elementary schools. Much of their discomfort appears to be related to the disparity between the schema with which they enter teaching and the realities of what children and classrooms are actually like. There is reason to believe that this "culture shock" might be eased if career changers were required to observe in classrooms, work with children, and/or take courses in child development prior to their student teaching experience.

4. Gender socialization appears to impact significantly upon the experience of the male second career teachers. This surfaces both in the expectations that these men set for themselves and the ways in which they

are perceived by others. Men who enter teaching as a second career need ongoing help and support in identifying these expectations and perceptions and in exploring the ways in which they impact upon the teaching experience.

5. Serving as a cooperating teacher is at best a complex task. Serving as a cooperating teacher to career change males is even more so. Teacher education programs need to be sensitive to these issues in placing second career men as student teachers.

If cooperating teachers are to truly function as mentors to second career males, they, like their charges, need help and support. They need to have opportunities to identify and explore their own attitudes and expectations as well as those of the men with whom they are working. Teacher education programs need to play a role in developing these forums.

Summary

The data indicates that there are issues of special concern to men who enter teaching as a second career. While many of these issues are shared by all second career teachers, others appear to be specific to the experience of the male career changer. These issues appear to be related to the nature of gender socialization in our society, the schema of teachers and teaching held by male career changers at the time of their entry into the field, and life stage concerns that motivate men to make a career change into teaching. The reality of these concerns have implications for the recruitment and education of male second career teachers at the elementary school level.

Bibliography

Aisenberg, N. & Harrington, M. (1988) .Women of academe: Outsiders in the sacred grove. Amherst: Univ. of Mass. Press.

Apple, M. (1986). Teachers & texts: A political economy of class and gender relations in education. New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Bennett, C. & Spalding, E. (April, 1991). A study of teaching perspectives held by career-change preservice and novice teachers in an alternative teacher education program. A paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association [AERA]. Chicago, IL.

Betz, N. & Fitzgerald, L. (1987). The career psychology of women. New York: Academic Press.

Bly, R. (1990). Iron John. NY: Addison Wesley.

Bowen, D. (1985). Were men meant to mentor women? Training and Development Journal. 39(2), 3-5.

Brod, H. (ed.). (1987). The making of masculinities. Boston: Allen & Unwin.

Britzman, D. P. (1986). Cultural myths in the making of a teacher: Biography and social structure in teacher education. Harvard Educational Review, 56 (4), 442-472.

Brookfield, S. (1986). Understanding and facilitating adult learning. San Fransisco: Jossey Bass.

Bruner, J. (1987). Life as narrative. Social Research, 54 (1), 11-32.

Bullough, R. V. JR. (1990). Becoming a teacher: Metaphor and meaning. Unpublished paper presented at AERA Conference, Boston, MA.

Bullough, R. V. (1989). First Year Teacher. New York: Teachers College Press.

Bullough, R.V. JR., Knowles, J.G. (1990). Becoming a teqcher: struggles of a second-career beginning teacher. Qualitative Studies in Education. 2 (3), 101-112.

Bullough, R.V. JR., Knowles, J.G., & Crow, N.A., (Winter, 1989). Teacher Self-concept and student culture in the first year of teaching. Teachers College Record. 2(91). (209-33).

Bullough, R.V. JR., Knowles, J.G., & Crow, N.A., (1989) A paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association [AERA]. San Francisco, CA.

Crow, G., Levine, L., & Nager, N. (1988). No more business as usual: Career changers who become teachers. Unpublished paper presented at AERA Conference, New Orleans, LA.

Dewey, J. (1904). The relation of theory to practice in education. The Third NSSE Yearbook (Part I). Chicago, Ill: The University of Chicago.

Driver, M. (1980). Career concepts and organizational change. In C.B. Deer (Ed.), Work, Family, and the Career. New York: Praeger.

Duckworth, E. (1986). Teaching as research. Harvard Educational Review. 4(56), 481-95.

Erikson, E. (1963). Childhood and Society. New York: W. W. Norton.

Erikson, E., Erikson, J. & Kivnick, H. (1986). Vital involvement in old age. NY:W. W. Norton

Freidus, H. (1989). The influence of gender in the change to teaching as a career. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Teachers College, Columbia University, New York

Freidus, H. (March,1989). Gender and the choice of teaching as a second career. A paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association [AERA]. San Francisco,CA

Freidus, H. (March, 1990). The call of the sirens: The role of gender in the choice of teaching as a career change. A paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association [AERA]. Boston, MA

Freidus, H. and Krasnow, M. (April, 1991). Theme and variations: Second Career Teachers. A paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association [AERA]. Chicago, IL.

Freidus, H. and Robinson, G. (May, 1990). A teacher education program for second career teachers. In A resource for our schools: Technical talent from the military and industry. Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the National Executive Service Corps. IBM Palisades, NJ.

Fullan, M. (1991).

Goodman, J. (1987). Masculinity, feminism, and the male elementary school teacher: A case study of preservice teachers perspectives. Journal of Curriculum Theorizing. 7(2), 30-61.

Gore, J. (1991). From "regimes of truth" toward reflexive practice: A study of power, knowledge ad ethics in discourses of critical and feminist pedagogy. A paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association [AERA].

Greene, M. (1978). Teaching: The question of a personal reality. In A. Lieberman and L. Miller (Eds.) Staff Development: New Demands, New Realities, New Perspectives. New York: Teachers College Press.

Hall, D. T. (1986). Career Development in Organizations. San Fransisco: Jossey Bass.

Jung, C. (1971). In J. Campbell (Ed.) The Portable Jung. New York: Penguin.

Kaestle,C.D. (1983). Pillars of the republic. NY:Hill and Wang.

Knowles, J. G. & Holt-Reynolds, D. Forthcoming (1991). Shaping pedagogies through personal histories in preservice teacher education. Teachers College Record. 93(1).

Lee, P. (1976). Male and female teachers in elementary schools: An ecological balance. Teachers College Record. 78 (2), 79-98.

Levinson, D. (1977). The seasons of man's life. NY: Ballantine.

Levinson, D. (1986). A conception of adult development. American Psychologist. 41(1), 3-13.

Levinson, D. (1984). The career is in the life structure; the life structure is in the career. In M.B. Bailyn, D.J. Levinson, and H.A. Shepard (eds.) Working with Careers. NY:Center for Research in Career Development: Columbia University.

Liston, D. P. & Zeichner, K. M. (1990). Teacher education and the social context of schooling: Issues for curriculum development. American Education Research Journal, 27 (4), 610-638.

Lortie, D. C. (1975). Schoolteacher. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Louis, M.R. (1980). Surprise and sense making: What newcomers experience in entering unfamiliar organizational settings. Administrative Science Quarterly, 25, 226-251.

Louis, M.R. (1970). Career transitions: Varieties and commonalities. Academy of Management Review. 5(3), 329-40.

Maslow, A. (1971). The farther reaches of human nature. NY: Viking

Merseth, K & Beals, D. (April,1991). Career changers who become teachers: How long do they stay and how satisfied are they? A paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association [AERA]. Chicago, IL.

Mishler, E. (1986). Research interviewing. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Mishler, E. (1991). Validation in inquiry-guided research: The role of exemplars in narrative studies. Teachers College Record, 60(4). 415-442.

Noddings, N. (1988). Caring. Berkley: University of California Press.

Sadker, M.. Sadker, D. & Klein, S. (1991). The issue of gender in elementary and secondary education. In G. Grant, Ed., Review of Research in Education. Washington, D.C.: AERA.

Schon, D. A. (1983). The Reflective Practitioner: How Professionals Think in Action. New York: Basic Books.

Schon, D. A. (1987). Educating the Reflective Practitioner. San Fransisco: Jossey Bass.

Van Maanen, J. (1977). Organizational Careers: Some New Perspectives. London: Wiley.

Vygotsky, L. (1978). Mind and Society. (Eds.) Cole et. al. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Weiler, K. (1988). Women teaching for change. South Hadley, MA: Bergin and Garvey.

Witherell, C. & Noddings, N. (1991). Stories lives tell: Narrative and dialogue in education. NY: Teachers College Press.